

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 285072

BELGRADE FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, NATO

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SUBJECT: CSCE/CBMS: RESPONSE TO ROMANIAN INITIATIVE

REFS: (A) BELGRADE 7613 (B) BELGRADE 7307
(C) BELGRADE 7658 (D) STATE 271723 (E) BELGRADE 7975
(F)USNATO 11387

1. THE FOLLOWING PROVIDES GUIDANCE FOR RESPONDING

TO THE ROMANIAN CBMS INITIATIVES ANALYZED BY THE
DELEGATION IN REFTEL A. THIS GUIDANCE SHOULD BE
READ IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE GENERAL CBMS INSTRUCTION
PROVIDED IN REFTEL D.

2. WE BELIEVE ALLIES CAN COUNTER THE ROMANIAN CBMS
PROPOSAL EFFECTIVELY BY ADDRESSING IT IN A SERIOUS
AND CONSTRUCTIVE FASHION, POINTING OUT THAT THE NOW
TABLED ALLIED PACKAGE OF CBMS PROPOSALS INCLUDING A
COMPREHENSIVE MOVEMENTS INITIATIVE IS EVIDENCE OF OUR
CAREFULLY THOUGHT OUT, CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH TO THESE
ISSUES. THE DIFFICULTIES BELOW WHICH PREVENT US FROM
ACCEPTING A MANDATORY OBLIGATION TO NOTIFY AIR AND
NAVAL MANEUVERS MAY, WE BELIEVE, BE USEFULLY EXPOUNDED

IN WORKING GROUP DISCUSSION.

3. FOLLOWING ARE OUR COMMENTS ON CERTAIN POINTS RAISED.

A. WE HAVE NO OBJECTION TO THE INCLUSION IN THE
CONCLUDING DOCUMENT OF A FAVORABLE REFERENCE TO THE
UN SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT (SSOD) AND AGREE
WITH OBSERVATIONS IN PARAS 4A AND 4B OF REFTEL A.

B. WE AGREE THAT MUCH OF THE LANGUAGE IN THE FIRST
SECTION OF TEXT IN REF B IS EXCESSIVE. IN ATTEMPTING
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TO TONE THIS PORTION DOWN YOU MIGHT POINT OUT THAT
IT ADDRESSES VERY COMPLEX ISSUES WHICH ARE DIFFICULT
TO RESOLVE, AND WHILE ALL NATIONS WOULD LIKE TO
SEE RAPID ACCOMPLISHMENTS, WE WOULD NOT WANT TO
DETRACT FROM PROGRESS THAT HAS ALREADY BEEN MADE.

C. WE CONCUR WITH THE DELEGATION'S COMMENTS ON
THE ROMANIAN PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE IN SECTION II
OF REF B AND AGREE THAT THE ALLIES MAY WANT TO TABLE
THEIR OWN TEXT.

D. MOVEMENTS

OUR PRINCIPAL PROBLEM WITH THE ROMANIAN MOVEMENTS
PROPOSAL IS ITS AMBIGUITY. WE AGREE THE US SHOULD
USE THE ALLIES MOVEMENTS PROPOSAL AS THE BASIS
FOR NEGOTIATIONS, STRESSING THE ADVANTAGES IN ITS
SPECIFICITY. THE ROMANIAN PROPOSAL ITSELF SHOULD
BE ADDRESSED ALONG THE SAME LINES SUGGESTED IN
SEPTEL GUIDANCE ON THE NNA INITIATIVES. ONCE
CSCE HAS ACCUMULATED A BODY OF EXPERIENCE IN
IMPLEMENTING THE MOVEMENTS CBM ENVISIONED BY THE

ALLIES, WE CAN ASSESS THE PROS AND CONS OF A MORE AMBITIOUS GROUND FORCE MOVEMENTS CBM.

E. MULTINATIONAL MANEUVERS NEAR THE BORDERS

THE FOLLOWING POINTS MAY BE CITED BY THE DELEGATION:

-- TO DENY NATO THE RIGHT TO CONDUCT MANEUVERS NEAR NATIONAL FRONTIERS WOULD LIMIT THE ABILITY OF THIS DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE TO EXERCISE ITS ARMED FORCES IN PRECISELY THOSE AREAS WHERE DEFENSE WOULD BE NEEDED, I.E., OVER THE APPROACH ROUTES TO THE INTERIOR OF THE ALLIANCE STATES.

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-- THE DISCUSSION OF THIS ISSUE IN C-M(77)61, PAGE 15 IS ALSO PERTINENT. AS THE IMS POINTS OUT, EARLIER YUGOSLAV PROPOSAL ON "AVOIDANCE OF HOLDING" BORDER MANEUVERS WAS RECEIVED WITH LITTLE ENTHUSIASM IN 1974. ALLIES AT THAT TIME REGARDED IT AS UNACCEPTABLE EVEN AS A BASIS FOR NOTIFYING MANEUVERS, BECAUSE IT COULD INTRODUCE AN UNDESIRABLE REGIONAL ELEMENT INTO CSCE. MOREOVER, CERTAIN BILATERAL AGREEMENTS ALREADY EXIST GOVERNING THE HOLDING OF MANEUVERS IN BORDER AREAS. ONE ALLY (ITALY) DEPLOYS MOST OF ITS GROUND FORCES IN AREAS ADJACENT TO BORDER AREAS; ALL ALLIES REGULARLY EXERCISE ALONG BORDERS.

-- IT MAY OF COURSE BE THAT THE ROMANIANS EXPECT THEIR PROPOSAL TO BE MODIFIED TO REQUIRE ONLY NOTIFICATIONS OF BORDER MANEUVERS; THIS MAY HAVE TO BE ADDRESSED LATER.

E. AIR AND NAVAL MANEUVERS

WE GENERALLY ENDORSE YOUR ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE ROMANIAN CALL FOR PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF AIR AND NAVAL MANEUVERS AND FOR RESTRICTIONS ON CERTAIN KINDS OF MILITARY ACTIVITY. IT IS PROBABLE THAT THE ROMANIANS DO NOT EXPECT THEM TO BE ADDRESSED SERIOUSLY AT BELGRADE. THEY MAY HAVE ADVANCED THEM TO GIVE MORE VIABILITY TO THEIR MOVEMENTS INITIATIVE AND THEIR AIR AND NAVAL MANEUVERS INITIATIVE. DELEGATION SHOULD USE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL COMMENTS AS REQUIRED.

-- THE ROMANIAN PROPOSAL TO REQUIRE NOTIFICATION OF AIR AND NAVAL MANEUVERS IS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE CONFIDENTIAL

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ALLIANCE. GREAT DIFFICULTY LIES IN THE DEFINITIONAL SENSE--WHAT IS AN AIR OR NAVAL MANEUVER AND WHERE DO "ADJACENT WATERS AND AIRSPACE" BEGIN AND END? FOR EXAMPLE, SIXTH FLEET SHIPS AND AIRCRAFT ARE ALMOST CONSTANTLY AT SEA OR AIRBORNE; "MANEUVERING" IS A ROUTINE ASPECT OF THEIR DAILY OPERATIONS. SIMILAR AIR/NAVAL MANEUVERING TAKES PLACE IN OTHER WATERS CONTIGUOUS TO EUROPE, I.E., NORTH SEA, NORTH ATLANTIC. WE HAVE NOT YET FOUND A FASHION IN WHICH AIR AND SEA MANEUVERS OR MOVEMENTS CAN BE USEFULLY DEFINED FOR CSCE/CBM PURPOSES. ACCORDINGLY, WE SEE NO MERIT TO JOINING AN EFFORT TO DISCOVER SUCH DEFINITIONS.

-- FURTHERMORE, WITH REGARD TO SEA MANEUVERS OR MOVEMENTS, IT IS ESTABLISHED US AND ALLIED POLICY IN LAW OF THE SEA NEGOTIATIONS TO PRESERVE FREEDOM TO CONDUCT ACTIVITIES ON THE HIGH SEAS, INCLUDING AIR SPACE ABOVE, WITHOUT ANY EXPLICIT OR IMPLICIT OBLIGATION FOR GIVING NOTIFICATION OR RECEIVING PERMISSION (AS WELL AS UNIMPEDED TRANSIT THROUGH OR OVER STRAITS USED FOR INTERNATIONAL NAVIGATION, WITH WHICH EUROPEAN "ADJOINING WATERS" ABOUND).

-- MOREOVER, THE ROMANIAN PROPOSAL WOULD ADVERSELY IMPACT ON OUR EFFORTS TO AVOID SIMILAR RESTRICTIONS IN OTHER REGIONS WHICH WOULD SERVE THE CAUSE OF THOSE "TERRITORIALIST" STATES WHO IN LOS NEGOTIATIONS SEEK TO EXTEND NATIONAL JURISDICTION OVER HIGH SEAS FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION AND OVERFLIGHT WITHIN THE 200-MILE EXCLUSIVE ECONOMIC ZONE.

-- ALSO, EVEN IF IT WERE POSSIBLE TO DEAL ADEQUATELY WITH THE DEFINITIONAL PROBLEM OUTLINED ABOVE, TO ACCEPT A REQUIREMENT TO

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PRE-NOTIFY AIR AND NAVAL MANEUVERS/MOVEMENTS COULD IMPACT ADVERSELY ON U.S. FORCE READINESS, IN THAT OUR NAVY (LIKE ALL OTHERS) ROUTINELY CONDUCTS UNSCHEDULED TRAINING EXERCISES ALL THE TIME ITS VESSELS ARE AT SEA. THESE OFTEN ARE DIRECTED AGAINST "TARGETS OF OPPORTUNITY" (UNIDENTIFIED AIRCRAFT AND/OR NAVAL VESSELS,

FOR EXAMPLE). SUCH EXERCISE WOULD BE PROHIBITED IF BLANKET PRE-NOTIFICATION REQUIREMENT WERE ACCEPTED. ALTERNATIVELY, PRE-NOTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS THAT WOULD PERMIT SUCH EXCEPTIONS WOULD LOSE MUCH OF THEIR CONFIDENCE-BUILDING IMPACT. THEREFORE, WE ARE NOT ATTRACTED TO THIS PROVISION.

-- HOWEVER, OUR DISCUSSION OF THIS SUBJECT BOTH IN BRUSSELS AND IN BELGRADE SHOULD CERTAINLY POINT OUT THAT ALLIES HAVE IN THE PAST ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS INCLUDED IN THE NOTIFICATION OF SEVERAL GROUND MANEUVERS THOSE AIR AND NAVAL ELEMENTS PARTICIPATING IN THE GROUND MANEUVERS WHEN SUCH INFORMATION WAS IMPORTANT TO THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE NOTIFIED MANEUVER AS A WHOLE. (THIS WAS DONE IN NOTIFYING TEAMWORK 76, CARBON EDGE, AND STANDHAFTE CHATTEN).

-- WE ARE PREPARED, ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS, TO CONTINUE INCLUDING SUCH INFORMATION IN OUR GROUND MANEUVER NOTIFICATIONS. IF ALLIES SHOULD SUGGEST AN OBLIGATION TO INCLUDE INFORMATION ON AIR AND NAVAL ELEMENTS IN GROUND MANEUVER NOTIFICATIONS, WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN THEIR RATIONALE FOR THIS. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE

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IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO DEFINE THE CONTENT OF SUCH AN ADDITIONAL NOTIFICATION OBLIGATION EXCEPT IN THE MOST GENERAL TERMS, WHICH IN TURN MIGHT ENGENDER MORE UNCERTAINTY AND CONFUSION THAN CONFIDENCE.

4. DISARMAMENT

IN ADDITION TO THE ARGUMENTATION YOU SUGGEST IN PARA 4(C) REF A, ALLIES SHOULD DRAW ON DISCUSSIONS IN ANNEXES V AND VI TO C-M(77)61. PRESIDENT CARTER'S REMARKS, CONCERNING NUCLEAR WEAPONS BEFORE UNGA ARE ALSO DIRECTLY RELEVANT.

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